

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----271658Z 014235 /46

O P 271646Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2166
INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 12354

EXDIS

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR MASS CG FR US SF WA RH UR AO
SUBJ: SHABA INVASION: US AID TO ZAIRE;
CONSULTATIONS WITH FRENCH

REF: (A) STATE 83689, (B) PARIS 11511

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH PLEASED BY THE INITIAL SUCCESS OF FRENCH INTERVENTION, THE PRESIDENT'S KEY AFRICAN ADVISER (JOURNIAC) IS CONCERNED ABOUT ZAIRE'S LONG-TERM PROSPECTS. JOURNIAC NOTED THAT THE US ASSISTANCE PACKAGE WAS IN LINE WITH HIS SUGGESTIONS AND MAY HAVE FURTHER THOUGHTS ON FUTURE US AID. THE FRENCH PLAN TO OFFER TO TRAIN 2-3,000 ZAIRIAN COMMANDOS TO GIVE MOBUTU A CREDIBLE MILITARY FORCE. THEY ALSO WILL SUGGEST WIDESPREAD REORGANIZATION AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE ZAIRIAN ECONOMY. JOURNIAC CONCURS IN OUR VIEWS ABOUT LIMITING THE ADVANCE OF ZAIRIAN FORCES AND WILL ADVISE MOBUTU TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF NIGERIAN MEDIATION.
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HOWEVER, JOURNIAC BELIEVES ANGOLA WILL BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE ONLY IF THE CUBANS/SOVIETS AGREE. THE LATER PROBABLY ARE CONSIDERING WHAT NEXT TO DO TO KEEP ZAIRE FROM PLAYING A MODERATE ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. JOURNIAC BELIEVES THAT THE WEST'S FAILURE TO BACK UP ITS RHETORIC WITH ACTION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS HAS GIVEN THE SOVIETS OPENINGS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

FRANCE WILL HAVE TO MOVE EVEN FURTHER THAN THE US IN READJUSTING ITS RELATIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA IF IT IS TO RETAIN CREDIBILITY WITH BLACK AFRICA. ACCORDING TO JOURNIAC, MODERATE AFRICANS ARE SADDENED, RATHER THAN ANGRY AT WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE THE LACK OF AN ADEQUATE US RESPONSE TO ZAIRE'S NEEDS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON APRIL 27, EMBOFF WAS ABLE TO SEE GISCARD'S AFRICAN AFFAIRS ADVISOR, RENE JOURNIAC, FOLLOWING HIS RETURN FROM FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT IN DAKAR. WHILE CLEARLY PLEASED WITH THE INITIAL SUCCESS OF THE FRENCH INTERVENTION, JOURNIAC EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT LONGER-RANGE PROSPECTS IN ZAIRE.

3. JOURNIAC ALREADY HAD NOTED WITH SATISFACTION THE \$13 MILLION US AID PACKAGE TO ZAIRE, AND THAT ITS CONTENTS WERE IN LINE WITH HIS SUGGESTIONS TO UNDER SECRETARY HABIB (SECTO 3101 NOTAL). HE MADE NO ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS FOR US AID, BUT INDICATED THAT HE MIGHT HAVE FURTHER THOUGHTS IN CONNECTION WITH A MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM WHICH THE FRENCH PLAN TO PROPOSE TO MOBUTU.

4. NOTING THAT MOROCCAN TROOPS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN NECESSARY IF ZAIRE HAD HAD A FEW THOUSAND WELL-TRAINED MEN INSTEAD OF A TOTALLY INEPT ARMY OF 40,000, JOURNIAC SAID THAT THE FRENCH WILL OFFER TO TRAIN A ZAIRIAN COMMANDO FORCE OF 2-3,000. SUCH A FORCE COULD PROVIDE MOBUTU WITH THE MILITARY STRENGTH REQUIRED TO MEET

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SITUATIONS SUCH AS THE KATANGAN INVASION WITHOUT RECOURSE TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. (JOURNIAC MADE NO MENTION OF POSSIBLE AFRICAN OR OTHER SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSED FRENCH TRAINING EFFORT.)

5. IN ADDITION TO MILITARY HELP, JOURNIAC CONTINUED, ZAIRE DESPERATELY NEEDS ECONOMIC REORGANIZATION. MOBUTU HIMSELF KNOWS LITTLE ABOUT ECONOMICS' AND NGUZA IS SO BUSY ON DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS THAT HE HAS NO TIME TO SUPERVISE THE MINISTRIES WHICH THEORETICALLY FALL UNDER HIS JURISDICTION. HERE AGAIN, THE FRENCH PLAN TO SUGGEST (UNSPECIFIED) RESTRUCTURING AND REORGANIZATION, INCLUDING IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE AND INFRASTRUCTURE.

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6. JOURNIAC HEARTILY CONCURRED THAT ANY MOVE BY ZAIRIAN FORCES INTO ANGOLA WOULD HAVE VERY BAD CONSEQUENCES. HE THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT MOBUTU WAS AWARE OF THE DANGERS AND SAID THAT THE MOROCCANS, IN ANY CASE, ARE UNDER ORDERS NOT TO CROSS THE BORDER. THE FRENCH WILL ADVISE MOBUTU TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF THE NIGERIAN MEDIATION EFFORT.

7. HOWEVER, JOURNIAC CONTINUED, IT TAKES TWO TO NEGOTIATE AND IN HIS OPINION, THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT A FREE AGENT BUT COULD ONLY NEGOTIATE IF THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS GAVE A GREEN LIGHT. THE INTENTIONS OF THE LATTER ARE NOT CLEAR, BUT IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT HAVING BEEN UNPLEASANTLY SURPRISED BY THE FRANCO-MOROCCAN ACTION, THE SOVIETS ARE CONSIDERING HOW TO RECOVER FROM THEIR TEMPORARY SET-BACK AND TO KEEP ZAIRE FROM PLAYING A MODERATING ROLE IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS WHICH ARE AT THE HEART OF THE SPREAD
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OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA.

8. EXPANDING ON THAT PROBLEM, JOURNIAC REPEATED THE

THESIS THAT THE WEST'S FAILURE TO BACK UP ITS RHETORIC WITH ACTION AGAINST THE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR SOVIET GAINS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT. HE SAID THAT EVEN THE MODERATE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS IN DAKAR HAD INDICATED THAT SO LONG AS FRANCE (AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES) DID NOT MOVE STRONGLY ON RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND EVENTUALLY APARTHEID, NO AFRICAN COULD DEFEND THEM AGAINST CHARGES OF INDIFFERENCE TO AFRICAN NEEDS. JOURNIAC SAID THAT FIRMER ACTION THAN THE ON-GOING FIVE-POWER APPROACH ON NAMIBIA IS NEEDED. IN EFFECT, HE ADMITTED, FRANCE WILL HAVE TO MOVE EVEN FURTHER THAN THE US IN READJUSTING RELATIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA IF IT IS TO RETAIN ITS CREDIBILITY WITH BLACK AFRICA.

9. REPLYING TO A QUESTION, JOURNIAC INDICATED THAT THE AFRICANS AT DAKAR WERE MORE SADDENED BY THAN ANGRY AT WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE THE LACK OF AN ADEQUATE US RESPONSE TO MOBUTU'S APPEAL FOR HELP. THEY SIMPLY DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS UNDER WHICH THE US GOVERNMENT MUST OPERATE NOR FULLY APPRECIATE THAT WHILE FRANCE COULD GET AWAY WITH ITS INTERVENTION IN ZAIRE, A SIMILAR US OPERATION COULD BE POLITICALLY DISASTROUS.

10. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO REPEAT TO OTHER POSTS.
GAMMON

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